

Message Text

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USBERLIN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 286121

NODIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

BERLIN FOR AMB. STOESSEL ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 19877 ACTION SECSTATE 30 NOV 77

QUOTE

S E C R E T BONN 19877

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT TO EMBASSIES PARIS AND LONDON
AND TO USMISSION USBERLIN FOR AMBASSADOR STOESSEL

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM NATO GW

SUBJECT: FOUR-POWER CONSULTATIONS ON SALT

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REFS: (A) BONN 19800; (B) BONN 19753; (C) BONN 19688;
(D) STATE 281255

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE FRG-PROPOSED AGENDA FOR THE
DECEMBER 7 MINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS ON SALT
BUILDS ON THE INITIAL THOUGHTS PROVIDED BY THE US BUT
RESTRUCTURES THE PROPOSED ORDER OF DISCUSSION OF SOME

OF THE PRINCIPAL TOPICS. THE DUAL OBJECTIVE OF THE FRG WOULD BE TO TAKE UP WHAT IT SEES AS THE MOST URGENT ITEMS FIRST, AND ALSO TO PRESENT AN AGENDA MORE LIKELY OF BEING ACCEPTED BY THE FRENCH. ANY DISCUSSION OF THE ER WEAPON WOULD COME AT THE END OF THE SUGGESTED AGENDA.

THE GERMANS STILL HOPE THAT ACDA DIRECTOR WARNKE WILL BE ABLE TO VISIT BONN FOR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS BEFORE DECEMBER 7. THEY WOULD SEE NO NEED FOR AN AGENDA FOR SUCH DISCUSSIONS, WHICH THEY UNDERSTAND WOULD CONSIST OF AN UPDATE ON SALT NEGOTIATIONS WITH AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE FRG TO POSE QUESTIONS.

ACTION REQUESTED: REACTIONS TO THE FRG'S PROPOSED AGENDA, GUIDANCE ON FURTHER STEPS IN COORDINATING THE AGENDA, AND INFORMATION ON THE POSSIBILITY OF US-FRG CONSULTATIONS BEFORE DECEMBER 7. END SUMMARY.
QUADRUPARTITE MINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS

1. THE DCM MET THIS MORNING (NOVEMBER 30) WITH POLITICAL DIRECTOR BLECH AND DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER RUTH TO RECEIVE FRG PROPOSALS FOR AN AGENDA FOR THE DECEMBER 7 DISCUSSION OF SALT AMONG THE FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS. STRESSING THAT IT WAS NOT A FORMAL PROPOSAL BUT SIMPLY A DRAFT FOR CONSIDERATION BASED
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IN LARGE PART ON THE US AGENDA SUGGESTIONS (REF D), BLECH GAVE THE DCM THE FOLLOWING DRAFT AGENDA:

BEGIN TEXT

I

1. STRATEGIC PARITY AS A RESULT OF SALT II;
CONSEQUENCES FOR THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE TRIAD.
2. CURRENT SALT II-RELATED PROBLEMS WITH SPECIAL
RELEVANCE FOR THE EUROPEAN ALLIES:
 - CRUISE MISSILES
 - NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE
 - DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES (SOVIET DEMAND FOR
RADICAL FBS SOLUTION, SOVIET MIDDLE-RANGE
POTENTIAL)
3. POSSIBLE CONTENT OF SALT III

4. ORGANIZATION OF FUTURE SALT NEGOTIATIONS;
CONSULTATION MECHANISM OF THE ALLIANCE.

II

1. THE SECURITY SITUATION

-- IN THE STRATEGIC AREA

-- IN THE MIDDLE-RANGE AND TACTICAL AREA

-- IN THE CONVENTIONAL AREA

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2. PRESENT AND FUTURE CAPABILITIES OF THE ALLIANCE; IN PARTICULAR

-- MODERNIZATION OF THE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL OF THE ALLIANCE

-- "EUROPEAN CRUISE MISSILE OPTIONS"

END TEXT

2. IN ELABORATING ON THE FRG DRAFT, BLECH COMMENTED THAT THE US IDEAS FOR AN AGENDA HAD BEEN CONVINCING AND ALL-ENCOMPASSING -- BUT ALSO EXTREMELY AMBITIOUS. COVERING ALL OF THE TOPICS ON THE US AGENDA, IN THE ORDER SUGGESTED, WOULD BE A TREMENDOUS EXERCISE. THE FRG WAS THEREFORE SUGGESTING A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO THE CONSULTATIONS WHICH WOULD BE BOTH LESS AMBITIOUS AND AT THE SAME TIME POSSIBLY MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRENCH.

3. WHILE THE US APPROACH, BLECH CONTINUED, WAS BASED ON AN INITIAL EVALUATION OF THE GENERAL SECURITY SITUATION IN THE FUTURE, LEAVING DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC SALT-RELATED ISSUES TO THE END, THE FRG WOULD REVERSE THIS APPROACH. IT WOULD BEGIN WITH A CONSIDERATION OF THE CONCRETE ISSUES PRESENTED BY SALT II (PART I OF THE ABOVE AGENDA), AND THEN WORK INTO THE BROADER SECURITY ASPECTS (PART II). BLECH COMMENTED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW AT THE PRESENT TIME WHAT THE FRENCH ATTITUDE WOULD BE. NEVERTHELESS, THEY HAD IN THE PAST BEEN PREPARED TO DISCUSS CERTAIN MATTERS FREELY SO LONG AS THE TERMS OF REFERENCE WERE NOT FORMALIZED. IN HIS ESTIMATION, IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO GAIN FRENCH ACCEPTANCE TO PART II OF THE

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SUGGESTED AGENDA, BUT AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS CONCRETE PROBLEMS SUCH AS THOSE SUGGESTED UNDER PART I SEEMED MORE PROMISING. RUTH ADDED THAT, EVEN IF THE FRENCH TURNED DOWN PART II, PART I CONTAINED A SAFETY VALVE IN THAT THERE COULD BE FREE DISCUSSION OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION UNDER SUGGESTED ITEM I.1.

PROCEDURES FOR COORDINATION OF AGENDA

4. BLECH EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT, AFTER THE US HAD CONSIDERED THE FRG PROPOSAL AND ALSO THE PRELIMINARY FRENCH REACTION TO THE INITIAL US DEMARCHE IN PARIS, THE US WOULD PRESENT CONCRETE AGENDA PROPOSALS IN

ALL THREE CAPITALS. THE DCM AGREED THAT THIS SEEMED A LOGICAL PROCEDURE AND UNDERTOOK TO REPORT BLECH'S SUGGESTION.

5. BLECH NOTED THAT THE FRENCH INSISTENCE THAT THERE COULD BE NO CONSULTATIONS BEFORE THE QUADRIPARTITE MINISTERIAL DINNER SEEMED TO RULE OUT DISCUSSIONS EVEN OF THE AGENDA AT THE DECEMBER 7 SENIOR LEVEL MEETING. HE ADDED THAT HE NEVERTHELESS INTENDED TO SAY SOMETHING ON THE SUBJECT AT LEAST OVER LUNCH, IF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS LUNCHEDED TOGETHER.

6. BLECH ALSO SUGGESTED THAT, ONCE THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE AGENDA, IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE FOR THE US AND THE FRG (PRESUMABLY THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS) TO DISCUSS IT FURTHER. THE AIM WOULD BE TO REACH A FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT SPECIFIC TOPICS WOULD BE COVERED UNDER EACH ITEM OF THE AGENDA.

US-FRG BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS

7. BLECH CLARIFIED THAT THE ABOVE DRAFT AGENDA WAS SECRET

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INTENDED AS A SUGGESTION ONLY FOR THE QUADRIPARTITE MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION AND WAS NOT RELATED TO THE BILATERAL TALKS WHICH THE GERMANS HOPE WILL TAKE PLACE BEFORE DECEMBER 7. BLECH UNDERSTOOD, ON THE BASIS OF A RECENT CONVERSATION BETWEEN VON STADEN AND WARNKE, THAT -- IF WARNKE WERE ABLE TO COME TO BONN BEFORE DECEMBER 7 -- THE PRIMARY PURPOSE WOULD BE TO PROVIDE

UPDATED INFORMATION ON THE STATUS OF THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS. HIS VISIT WOULD ALSO PERMIT THE GERMANS TO ASK QUESTIONS. THEY WOULD WELCOME A VISIT UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES AND WOULD NEED NO AGENDA FOR IT.

FOLLOW-UP TO DECEMBER 7 CONSULTATIONS

8. BLECH EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE MINISTERS WOULD AGREE ON FOLLOW-UP CONSULTATIONS AT THE POLITICAL DIRECTOR LEVEL, IF POSSIBLE BEFORE CHRISTMAS. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE SIMPLY TO CALL FOR ONE OR TWO MEETINGS OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS, WHO WOULD THEN REPORT TO CAPITALS; THERE SHOULD BE NO REFERENCE TO FUTURE MINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS.

9. BLECH ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT AT THIS STAGE IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT HOW FAR THE FRENCH WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO. THE FRG EMBASSY IN PARIS HAD BEEN TOLD AT THE WORKING LEVEL THAT NO DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN ON ANY FOLLOW-UP CONSULTATIONS. BLECH SPECULATED THAT ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE THAT THE FRENCH WOULD AGREE TO LATER DISCUSSIONS, BUT ONLY AMONG MINISTERS. THERE WERE OTHER POSSIBILITIES -- THAT THEY WOULD NOT AGREE TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AT ALL (IN WHICH CASE CONSULTATIONS MIGHT HAVE TO CONTINUE BILATERALLY OR POSSIBLY TRILATERALLY), OR THAT THEY WOULD BE

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INTERESTED IN PURSUING CONSULTATIONS BUT NOT QUADRIPARTITELY (IN WHICH CASE A COMPLICATED NETWORK OF BILATERALS WOULD ENSUE).

REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO SCHMIDT

10. BLECH PROVIDED NO INFORMATION ON THE PREVIOUS DAY'S FEDERAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. HE STATED THAT THE CHANCELLOR WAS PREPARING A REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND THAT IT MIGHT BE SENT BEFORE DECEMBER 7. HE WAS UNWILLING TO PREDICT THE CONTENT OF THE LETTER, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO TREATMENT OF THE ENCHANCED RADIATION WEAPON. BLECH DID COMMENT THAT, WHILE THE ERW MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IN QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS UNDER ITEM II.2. OF THE PROPOSED FRG AGENDA, HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO GO INTO THAT SUBJECT AT THE PRESENT TIME.

11. ACTION REQUESTED:

A. INFORMATION ON THE POSSIBILITY OF BILATERAL
CONSULTATIONS IN BONN BEFORE DECEMBER 7;

B. REACTIONS TO THE INFORMAL AGENDA SUGGESTIONS
IN PARA 1 ABOVE; AND

C. GUIDANCE ON THE DEPARTMENT'S PREFERRED
PROCEDURE FOR FURTHER COORDINATION OF THE AGENDA FOR THE
DECEMBER 7 MINISTERIAL MEETING. STOESSEL.
UNQUOTE VANCE".

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